8:Howell E-5.8 (1937, 1948) 1953 F223 Shilluk F223

171 tant among the Nuer and Dinka, does not usually arise. The Shilluk seem to attach
843 greater significance to physical paternity than do other Nilotes and the adopted male
will usually be linked to the name of his genitor, even though this carries with it no
[843] legal rights. In the case of males there is often a tendency on the part of the maternal
928 uncle or his heirs to deny to the adopt rights of inheritance or full participation in the
reciprocal privileges of the lineage, so that his status is sometimes precarious and
indeterminate.

171 Unlike the Nuer and Dinka, the Shilluk have no 'Ghost Marriage'.[1] It is not sound
581 to a fundamental obligation of kinship that a wife should be 'married to the name' of
a dead kinsman, though the sentiment which dictates the custom among the Nuer
182 and Dinka is not absent among the Shilluk. In this sense the Nuer and Dinka system
581 is perhaps more individual than that of the Shilluk. Among the Shilluk continuity of
the kinship group, not of the individual, is assured by normal legal marriage with
cattle which might well have been used by the deceased for this purpose, but are not
559 transferred in his name. Names are retained, however, by a belief in reincarnation.
778 It is believed that the spirit of some ancestor appears in the new-born child which is
then named after the ancestor. At the birth of every child a ceremony is performed,
usually with the assistance of a *bag reth* who specialises in such matters, to determine
this. The participants will ask, '*nwe adwl yi nwin*?—'This one is brought by whom?'
This accounts for the repetition of names in Shilluk genealogies, irrespective of sex,
since there is no reason why the spirit of a female ancestor should not enter a male
child or vice versa.

848 As will be seen later, a man who seduces a girl, if she subsequently gives birth to a
child, cannot assume legal parenthood of his offspring except by marrying the mother
and then only if at least some of the bridewealth cattle have been transferred, and the
initial processes of marriage performed before the child is born. Theoretically, at
least, children born out of wedlock cannot be legitimized and must therefore remain
[584] *adeje*. This does not apply if the father is betrothed to the girl at the time, provided
that he eventually completes the marriage payments. It often happens, however,
[577] that a child born in these circumstances is adopted by the man who subsequently
marries the mother, and marriage in these conditions usually brings with it legal
parenthood of children born out of wedlock.

Violation of Rights in Women

Seduction of Unmarried or Betrothed Girls and Adultery

684 The seduction of unmarried girls is announced a serious wrong among the Shilluk
and one which demands compensation. The wrong is referred to as *kwor dwol nim*
ajer and compensation is assessed, both currently and traditionally, at one ox.
Pumphrey remarks that,

[834] '... an original seduction often eventuates in marriage, in which case the seduction payment
is payable first and the marriage payment after [and over and above it]. In such cases also
[515] marriage dates from the acceptance of the sheep and it is impossible that the girl's family
will accept it until the seduction payment is completed.'[2]

[1] See Evans-Pritchard, 'Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer', *Introduction to Anthropology*, 1938 and Blackwell Lectures [not. 1948].

[2] Pumphrey: unpublished records.

19: Pumphrey G-S (1934-1936) 1941
F 213 Shilluk F 213

married and living with him. It varies from four head of cattle to one bull, its different types being :—

Kwer par ric thoor	— for making pregnant the wife of another	4 head of cattle
Kwer par nien a'jor	— for making pregnant an unmarried girl (or one who, although married, is still living with her own people)	3 head of cattle
Kwer kuaka ric thoor	— for having relations with a married woman without causing pregnancy	2 head of cattle
Kwer kuaka nien a'jor	— for having relations with an unmarried girl without causing pregnancy (or with one who, although married, is still living with her own people)	1 head of cattle

Provided the appropriate payment is promptly made these cases produce little ill feeling. No *kwer* is payable where a man has relations with the wife of his brother or of his father (other, of course, than his own mother). In fact little resentment is felt in such cases, especially if the offender is unmarried, the realistic view prevailing that it is better so than that he should incur cattle payments by exploits elsewhere.

Sexual offences are seldom disputed. Those resulting in pregnancy come to light inevitably, for the girl will be questioned and will reply truthfully; nor will a man then cannot ever deny. Cases not resulting in pregnancy come to light only when the woman, whether after marriage or before, is giving birth to a child. Shilluk mothers think that their labour is facilitated if they name to the attendant midwife every man with whom they have had relations. News is brought to her family of the names uttered and the woman's *gol* hastens to claim the requisite *kwer* from every man named. Sometimes as many as five bulls are claimed from five separate men, but sometimes when too many persons are named the girls' *gol* are ashamed and do not claim at all. Although women who go to live in the towns often become prostitutes there is no prostitution in tribal life. Since the marriage age for men is on the average as high as twenty-eight extra-marital relations are not uncommon.

Children born outside marriage may be taken on by the man who eventually marries their mother. If so then he is made to pay extra for them at the rate of five head of cattle for a daughter and two for a son.